2:Evans-Pritchard E-S (1931, 1936) 1951
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000 inter-relations of collateral lineages because they do not here directly concern us.

III

621 Having made what preliminary explanations seemed to be
602 necessary, I record some examples of the network of kinship ties in typical Nuer villages and camps.

As I have said earlier, members of a village are all *mar*, kin, to one another: any villager can trace kinship to every other person in his village, either by a direct kinship tie or through a third person who is in different ways related both to himself and the other person. Furthermore, he can establish kinship of some kind —real, by analogy, mythological, or assumed—with everybody he comes into contact with during his lifetime and throughout the length and breadth of Nuerland; and this is necessary if he has frequent dealings with them, for all social obligation of a personal kind is defined in terms of kinship. But within his local community the links are *definite* and well known. All members of a village or cattle camp can be placed on a single genealogical chart showing relationship by blood, adoption, and marriage.

[101] The village of Konye is on a site on the left bank of the Pibor
341 and a few miles to the south of Akobo Post. It is on the periphery of Nuerland, on their present-day frontier with the Anuak, and has only recently been used by Nuer, of the Lou tribe, as a permanent wet-season settlement, though they have probably long camped on the site in seasons of severe drought. Nevertheless, the social *cluster* found in occupation of it in May 1935 is typical of small communities in every part of Nuerland. In that year the village consisted of eleven homesteads perched on a high mound some eighty paces in diameter with four attached homesteads lying between four hundred and six hundred paces to the south of the mound. On a rough estimate the population of the village and
● 124 attached homesteads was eighty to a hundred souls. I spent only a few days in the village and restricted my inquiries there to an effort to discover its genealogical pattern by ascertaining the kinship ties between the men who owned the fifteen cattle byres, that is to say, between the fifteen heads of families of the settlement. This might seem a simple task, but in Nuerland, where people do not co-operate in an inquiry of this kind, it is by no means so, and

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the genealogy had to be pieced together by asking why each owner of a byre had come to live at Konye, a question answered by mentioning his relationship to someone already living in the village. There may be other ties of kinship or affinity between members of the different families which have not been recorded. There may also be more domestic unions other than the union of simple legal marriage than those shown on the chart. Irregular unions are not easily unearthed in a rapid survey which is not directed to that end. The genealogical table, which includes the owners of the outlying homesteads, is not a complete record of all the persons living at Konye.

The chief man of the village is Rue-Wor (homestead 8), and his son Deng-Rue (homestead 12) is the chief man of the outlying hamlet. The community is grouped round Rue, who, although he belongs to the Gaawar clan and therefore counts as a stranger (*rul*) and not as an aristocrat (*dil*) in the Lou tribal territory where he resides, is the *tut*, the 'bull', as Nuer say, of this community. A man holding this social position is also sometimes referred to as *ruei wec*, an expression which appears to mean 'spittle of the camp (community)'. There are several Lou tribal aristocrats in the village, but they have only a lineage, and no special personal status in it. Kinsmen of the villagers from the interior of Lou country spend the dry season in the village.

I direct attention to some features of the genealogy which are typical of many small Nuer communities. The Konye community is not in itself in any sense a lineage group, though it is attached politically to one of the dominant Jinaca lineages of the Lou tribe. Its nucleus is the family of Rue-Wor, the 'bull' of the village, and linked to it, some in one way and some in another, are a group of kin related to Rue and to each other. Any relationship of a man with any other member of the community serves to attach him to it and to give him status in it, for any tie to a particular person gives him further ties with all its other members. The tie may be of different categories and of varying degrees of kinship. Within the complex of village kinship ties and the circuit of daily contacts all relationships are given equal weight, for what is significant is less the category or degree of kinship than the fact of living together in a small and highly corporate community.

It will be noted that a considerable proportion of the owners of byres in the villages are living there because of affinal relationships.

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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family, both legal and domestic, to demand a man's major allegiance at the expense of the solidarity of the wider kinship group which provides a boy with scope for his deepest interests and ambitions. 583 602

VIII

That these different forms of marriage and concubinage are of great sociological importance cannot be doubted. It is desirable, therefore, after having formally defined the different types of marriage and concubinage, to estimate approximately how widespread are the other types of union in comparison with simple legal marriage before discussing their influence on behaviour. After taking soundings by recording genealogies of a few persons with whom I was intimate among the Lek, Lou, and Jikany tribes, I decided to pay special attention to this problem on my 1936 expedition. A village of the Karlual tribe was selected and a survey of marital conditions was conducted in it. The results confirmed the impression formed by my earlier genealogical enquiries that all these different types of marriage and concubinage are common. My previous soundings proved, moreover, that the village investigated was fairly typical of Nuer villages. 121

The village chosen was Nyueny. It was not selected at random but was chosen because it is the home of my servant Nhial whose family already knew me. Though his father resides there it is the village of his maternal kin and they had known for some years about my work. I was therefore sure of a friendly welcome and consequently it was possible to make a rapid survey. Had I been a complete stranger the enquiry could not have been accomplished in the short time I had to give to it, because Nuer oppose any investigation till they have seasoned one and, even then, are stubborn informants. On previous expeditions I had recorded the genealogies of Nhial on both sides of his family so that much of my work was merely checking on the spot this earlier information.

I spent five weeks in Nyueny. There was insufficient time for a full enquiry because such enquiries are exceedingly difficult—indeed I know of no more difficult task among Nilotic peoples than that of obtaining correct genealogies. But it was sufficient to obtain a well-checked record of matrimonial conditions, even if it is not a complete record, since I was by this time well advanced in my Nuer studies and was, moreover, able to obtain reliable and friendly assistance from the people of Nyueny. 124

Nyueny is a typical Nuer village. It consists of a number of huts and byres dotted in the arc of a circle along a sandy ridge. The main village is about a mile in length and is divided into three hamlets: Nyueny, Dakyil, and Kaamthiang (see Diagram No. VI). About a mile to the north lies the hamlet of Dorpan, the occupants of which recently moved from the main village. The byres of Nyueny do not face straight on to the ridge because wind-blown rain would be swept through the doorway but they face E. to S.E. On the western side of the village, at the backs of the huts and byres, lie gardens; and gardens and bush alternate between the main village and the hamlet of Dorpan. Nyueny is one of the finest 361